DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 361 513 CE 064 451

AUTHOR Field, John, Ed.
TITLE Learning Citizenship: Perspectives from Sweden, Poland and Britain. Discussion Paper in Continuing Education Number 1.
INSTITUTION Warwick Univ., Coventry (England). Dept. of Continuing Education.
REPORT NO ISBN-1-869836-65-0
PUB DATE 91
NOTE 46p.
AVAILABLE FROM Continuing Education Research Centre, University of Warwick, Coventry CV4 7AL, England, United Kingdom (2.95 British pounds).
PUB TYPE Viewpoints (Opinion/Position Papers, Essays, etc.) (120) -- Collected Works - General (020)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Adult Education; Adult Learning; Case Studies; *Citizenship Education; Comparative Education; *Educational Practices; Educational Strategies; Foreign Countries; *School Role; Social Change
IDENTIFIERS Great Britain; Poland; Sweden

ABSTRACT

This collection of papers examines the role of adult education in encouraging active citizenship throughout Europe. "Introduction: The Project" (John Field) discusses the context in which the other papers were written and briefly discusses citizenship education and research in Great Britain. "Learning, Education, Citizenship: What Connections?" (Chris Duke) discusses the relationships between education and citizenship, the British experience in citizenship education, and possible strategies for adult educators to use to help produce competent citizens. "The Future as a Challenge and the Role of Adult Education--The Example of Poland" (Mieczyslaw Malewski) discusses the relationship between citizenship education and the consciousness of Polish society. The historical development of citizenship education in Sweden, current practices in adult education programs, and a methodology and theory for further research are examined in "Education for Citizenship in Sweden" (Agnieska Bron-Wojciechowska). "Education: A Resource in Social Movements?" (John Field) outlines a resource mobilization theory, discusses the concept of education as a resource, and presents a case study of the use and development of educational resources for purposes of citizenship education. (MN)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED 361 513

UNIVERSITY OF WARWICK

Discussion Paper in Continuing Education Number 1

LEARNING CITIZENSHIP: PERSPECTIVES FROM SWEDEN, POLAND AND BRITAIN

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☐ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

R Preston

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

Edited by John Field

CE064451

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

CONTENTS

Introduction — Page 1

John Field

Learning, Education, Citizenship: What Connections? — Page 3

Chris Duke

The Future as a Challenge and the Role of Adult Education - the example of Poland — Page 15

Mieczyslaw Malewski

Education for Citizenship in Sweden — Page 22

Agnieska Bron-Wojciechowska

Education: a Resource in Social Movements — Page 32

John Field

INTRODUCTION
THE PROJECT

John Field
University of Warwick

Active citizenship has been one of those themes that has repeatedly troubled European society. It continues to disturb us: in both east and west, the formal parameters of citizenship are hastily being redrawn, while on all sides there is said - if supported sometimes by highly selective evidence - to have been a decline in civic-mindedness of all kinds among all layers of the population. What does it mean, then, to be a citizen in the new circumstances? Which people benefit from the right, and which have to perform the duties, of citizenship? How is the term commonly understood? How do people "learn to be" citizens - and what are the skills, knowledge and understandings that make for effective citizenship? Have adult educators much of a role in helping people acquire those skills and make good use of them?

As individuals, the authors of the papers in this volume have been grappling with these questions for some years. The four of us have worked in widely differing contexts in the last decade; as well as being separated geogaphically - in Sweden, southwestern Poland, Canberra, the South Yorkshire coalfield, then two of us fetching up in the West Midlands - we were also doing different kinds of work, from teacher education to community mobilisation. During a conference in the Karkanosc mountains, late at night - very late - we became aware that we spoke a very similar language, sharing remakably congruent values.

"Active citizenship" appeared to provide a common focus for both values and language. As a result, it became the centre for an international research project on active citizenship and adult learning, bringing together adult educationalists from Sweden, Poland and Britain. These papers were written for a workshop at Warwick University, in February 1991.

A few words of elaboration might help to situate our work, since for we British, "active citizenship" as an expression at first seems remarkably insular. It derives from the peculiarly British experience of Thatcherism - quite literally, since both she and her successor John Major have spoken with enthusiasm of "active citizenship" . As a characteristically European expression, though, it can claim ancestry at least as far back as the popular clubs of the Revolutionary Paris; and just as "active citizenship" rings of Mrs Thatcher in the British ear, so to the Pole it provokes unwelcome echoes of communist lectures on civic duty; it seems, for reasons which might bear reflection, that the kinds of things that model citizens do - help an elderly acquaintance, pick up litter, warn the police of wrong-doing, show an interest in local affairs - were not confined to Britain. Feelings of powerlessness and isolation, for their part, are not confined to Poland.

Fundamental citizenship questions have posed a core set of challenges for European adult education. Historical insights will continue to provide a fruitful source of explanation and inspiration, as Agnieszka Bron makes clear in her paper on Sweden (similar comments might be made about the origins of the British adult education movement, particularly in

the light of its present-day predicament). The work will develop, though, in a transdisciplinary fashion, paying attention to the sociology and political economy of both adult learning and active citizenship, and the relations between them.

In the short term, the British research contribution is focussing upon three types of related study. Our major thrust is on the learning of citizenship skills through voluntary participation in social movements of various kinds (eg credit unions, Greenpeace, Neighbourhood Watch, the Women's Institutes); in addition we are looking at policy development (largely framed by the work of the Speaker's Commission, whose report Encouraging Citizenship was published in 1990); and we are trying to map the responses of providers, which in the current situation is like trying to nail jelly to a door (as will be shown in our next report, a survey by John Payne of provision for active citizenship in inner London). The questions we are asking concern the nature of citizenship skills, the distribution of formal and informal learning, and the possibilities and limits imposed by the prevailing understandings of citizenship and its relation to adult learning. By citizenship, we intend to explore both active engagement in public affairs and organisations; ideas about consumer control over services; and voluntary contributions to the social good through caring activities of various kinds.

What we are looking at are, then, central issues of power and control, apathy and withdrawal, participation and autonomy in contemporary societies. These are significant issues, and we are already exploring them in conjunction with new colleagues; Keith Jackson and Richard Hallett of the Centre for Active Citizenship (based at Fircroft College for Adult Education) made a lively activity-based contribution to the Warwick Conference and have greatly changed our thinking about the research. Tom Collins, of Teachers' College (in Maynooth, in the Republic of Ireland) has drawn our attention to the importance of active citizenship in and through economic life. This is one project which none of us expect to complete, since the challenges posed by the changing relationship between State and individual, in and across European societies, will continue to develop and confront us well into the next millenium.

LEARNING, EDUCATION, CITIZENSHIP: WHAT CONNECTIONS?

Chris Duke
Department of Continuing Education
University of Warwick

Scope and Purpose

In this paper I try to get a little clearer about relationships between education and citizenship which continuously interest me, and which I come back to from time to time (eg. Duke 1988, 1990a, 1990b,1991). Because most of my work has been in university continuing education (UCE) in Australia and England, my point of reference tends to be UCE in these countries. I try however to ask the questions in a way that is wider. This paper is written in the context of a small meeting following the October 1990 conference in Poland on Adult Education as a Social Movement. I am therefore especially sensitive to the European, and within this the Polish and Swedish, perspectives which provide an immediate frame for shared and comparative reference (Bron 1990, Malewski 1990).

I try not to say too much about British University adult education (UAE) - " The Great Tradition"; not because it is uninteresting, which it is not, or small in volume as a part of all of British AE, which it is, but because it is quite often written about, and the analysis can become inward-looking (Taylor et.al 1985, McIlroy and Spencer 1988). Recent papers by Roger Fieldhouse (1990) and Bill Hampton (1990) provide some context for what I will say, and Hampton's paper also offers a challenge for the more practical, or applied, note on which I will conclude.

I want to look wider than adult education, let alone UAE. This paper is about learning, education and citizenship. I want to tease out some of the connections between them.

Core and Periphery

As a framework or metaphor I use "core" and "periphery." A core-periphery perspective may help in looking at different possibilities and strategies, for linking education - both child and adult - with notions of active citizenship, at the same time distinguishing between education and learning.

In British education the words core and periphery each have particular connotations. The 1988 Education Reform Act (ERA), the largest and most important piece of educational legislation since the end of World War Two, gives us a 'core curriculum' for schooling, the elements of which are still being worked out amid controversy and often acrimony. John Field has suggested that the National Curriculum is, perhaps above all, an attempt to pin down what teachers do in the classroom, with regular testing of each pupil's attainment, to ensure control of teachers through this form of measurement and accountability. This idea is relevant to a theme in this paper: about teaching as a relationship of teachers to the State. Teaching has been called a subversive activity. Part of the background to ERA is suspicion and hostility between British school teachers and those who control the British State. The idea of a core curriculum is less well established in adult education, but it has come onto the AE policy agenda too in recent years, at least as a discussion item, as work by Geoffrey Squires at Hull demonstrates.

"Periphery" is a well established idea in the discourse of adult educators. Adult education (especially where "AE" connotes non-vocational work) is perceived, above all by its practitioners, as a peripheral activity, marginal to the main body or stream of educational endeavour - and educational funding. Within universities CE and the extramural departments (EMDs) are historically peripheral. They have perhaps colluded in this, trading marginality for greater freedom, resenting yet enjoying the separation from their parent institutions. Modern policies demand the 'main-streaming,' integration or embedding of CE into the main "core" work of each institution. The very term "extramural" places this work geographically outside the walls of the university. The name is rapidly giving way to the newer term CE. Modes of management have generally accentuated separation and marginality.

So we have a newly created core curriculum in the main core of formal education - the school system. And a legacy and culture of peripherality in adult education, both system-wide and within institutions. Possible, what is perceived as the weakness is also, and rather, the strength? Possibly, as with the apple, the core is the unappetising part which most people end up by throwing away? How is education experienced by learners? What coincidence is there between what is intentionally taught and what is learned?

Education, Learning, Society

In examining relationships between education, learning, and the society, polity or State, do we think of these as a triangle, with "active citizenship" suspended in between? Or are the points of the triangle education, learning, and citizenship? Whichever is more fruitful we should keep in sight both children and adults apropos each of these three.

<u>model one</u>

EDUCATION LEARNING

active
citizenship

SOCIETY & POLITY

<u>model two</u>

EDUCATION LEARNING
(school, AE, HE)

CITIZENSHIP
(State, society)

I find the first triangle more helpful in suggesting that active citizenship is a separate dependent variable and a product of the interplay of the other three points of potential influence and energy

Expressed in linear form, as a possible causal I path, we have one possibility, which I will label "naive ideal", that looks like this:

model three

E -> L -> active citizenship -> impact on Society and the State

Less innocent is the view that the relationship looks like this:

model four

```
L -------->        active          -> impact on Society and
E ->    ->      citizenship        -> the State

E ->                               -> dissociation
L ------->                         -> & alienation
```

In this representation, the top line is, very crudely, the middle classes,, the lower line the "educational underachievers" from other social, economic and ethnic groups.

A still less sanguine understanding, however, which is the one adopted in this paper, is as follows:

model five

```
                                    L  ---> active citizenship
State -> E  --------->
                                       ------> dissociation and alienation.
```

Again the top line represents the middle classes, or current participators in, and main beneficiaries of, society and the polity.

Take **Education** first. For most people in Britain this is still equated with school(ing). In North America it naturally includes "college", for higher education (HE) there has gone beyond the elite to the mass stage. The term "formation", not found in the English language in its French sense, rather suggests to English ears the idea of socialisation: induction into the society, learning its culture, norms and roles. When it comes to adult education we have been taught to use the term **andragogy**. This is used apolitically to stress the different educational methods and techniques required to cause, or facilitate, adults' learning.

Separating AE from schooling can also accidentally separate it from its political context, something I seek to avoid here. In using "andragogy" we stress, perhaps in an innocent and unrealising way, the unique individualism of the learner, valuing their maturity as expressed through self-directedness or autonomy. We respect and seek to attune to their experience, perhaps through a "negotiated curriculum", to win their motivation and their active participation in learning.

If the adults are newly arrived citizens (immigrants, refugees) or members of ethnic or cultural minorities thought to threaten control by the State or the stability of society, then the idea of socialisation may arise. Liberal adult educators may then express

concern about cultural insensitivity, ethnocentrism, the absence of pluralism, maybe indoctrination (Stavenhagen 1986). We tend not to feel the same anxieties over the cultural formation of young people. Even the more heated controversies over History and Religious Studies in the National Curriculum seldom involve use of the term indoctrination.

The Whole School Curriculum

If as citizens and adult educators we are committed to the idea of Active Citizenship, then maybe we should think of this more than we do at the school/child stage. Some cultures take early childhood education very seriously: the Jewish kibbutz and the Maoist commune as well as the Society of Jesus. The Speaker's Commission on Citizenship certainly did address the question of learning citizenship through school, including its place in whatever sense in the National Curriculum, and said very little about adult education (Speaker's Commission 1990), although there was a feeling that the idea of citizenship being lifelong was taken up and held onto by the Commission. The Commission recognised that citizenship could be learned at school in different ways: " on the lines" as part of the taught curriculum; by out-of-school participation, generally in the form of some kind of community service; and through life and management of the school in the practice, if such there be, of schoolplace democracy.

This teaching of citizenship via "process learning" is more subtle than classroom lectures, but still deliberate, and so "on the lines". More covert, and not really addressed in that Report, is the between-the-lines teaching which teachers in the school may practise, deliberately or without realising it; and the "between the lines" learning that kids do pretty well all the time they are at school - as indeed in other social situations. This is the hidden, in contrast with the core or formal curriculum.

This brings us to the difference, the relationship or the absence of it, between Education (teaching) and Learning. We can quibble about the terms. Facilitating or enabling sound gentler, more modern and more adult than teaching. We can decompose the teaching role to distinguish lecturing and instruction; tutorial and groupwork activity; preparation of distance and self-directed materials; and enhancement of the learning environment, etc. All have in common a conscious intent to teach to an established curriculum with some broader educational intention behind it. All belong to the "education system". All come under the scrutiny, audit and control of the state, apart from that which survives entirely unregulated in the private sector. All involve the l"providers" formulating intentions, or taking instructions, as to what is taught to whom.

In a sense we can say that the whole of Education is the core, and the whole of Learning,, as the intended response, or consequence, as (at) the periphery. The formal curriculum of formal education is the true core (in the British school system now the National Curriculum). It is determined by the State and designed to socialise (we don't say indoctrinate) the young into the ways of useful, law-abiding, productive workers and active consumers - for we are talking about a State and a society predicted on economic liberalism rather than political activism, where effective consuming is no less important than efficient producing.

There is a struggle going on for the high terrain of education. Is it subject-matter - ground to be covered, memorised, tested, maybe forgotten - ground covered like a Spring snowfall soon to disappear? Or, a newer paradigm, is it competencies, transferable skills, maybe even, in anticipation of adult learning roles, "learning to learn?" The need for clarity, order and control has hitherto on the whole pushed the State, through its

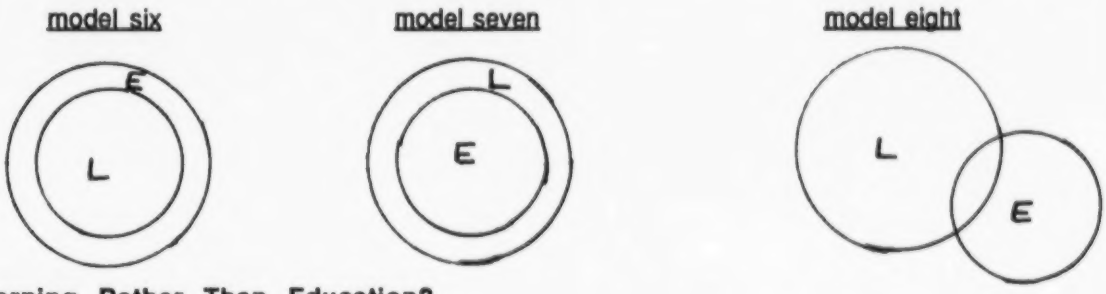
administrative systems, towards the more measurable and tangible - to content rather than process, whether this is the 3Rs or the National Curriculum.

The Jesuit would ask for the early years and guarantee a result for life. The State claims a prerogative over the formative years (if not early enough years in most European countries according to many child psychologists) and seeks to use the production line of the education system to turn out its new citizen-members. Teachers and other workers in the "education industry" belong to the State in a special way, since their power for subversion is feared. (Teachers in the private schools have more freedom; they can generally be trusted, for they are seen as being closer in their interests and values to the socio-political status quo). Trends in Britain today suggest further subordination of the teaching force in terms of recruitment and training as well as via the National Curriculum - a kind of proletarianisation. The State's pure ideal might be a teacher-proof curriculum; education in which formative young members of the society undergo a standard and reliable process of preparation for their adult roles.

The slippage occurs in several ways. Two in particular interest me here. First, teachers can never be pinned down to adhere to an imposed curriculum. Only in the most oppressive regimes where the social fabric and interpersonal affection have been quite destroyed (Roumania if late perhaps comes to mind, or Orwell's **1984**, can teachers be brought into line. Even then it is hard to suppress or to ignore a nod and a wink, a satirical tone, an unspoken gesture of disassociation. Second the real, main, lasting, learning that takes place in school is not what the Secretary of state for Education prescribes and what appears on the blackboard. It is what occurs "between the lines" - and between the lessons. A lot more takes place off the school premises altogether. This is why school is a more total experience in a society which takes its socialisation most seriously, or if you prefer more effective indoctrination, by having its charges full-time for the whole of each residential term. The armed forces turn people into soldiers by still more total(itarian) methods.

Even in army camps more is learned than is taught. In less efficiently encompassing education situations of the liberal democracies, the mathematics curriculum may be followed quite closely, but the coincidence between what is "taught" - Education - and what is learned, is commonly small indeed. Quite possibly the core (core curriculum) is the smallest and the meanest part of the Learning. The more we attend not to the tangible (subject content) core but to the intangible attitudinal and value-laden zones, the more true this becomes. Where does most of the learning about power, inequality, influence, loyalty, even rights and obligations take place? Most often from peers and the larger school community (including teachers as powerbrokers); not from teachers teaching subjects as such in the classroom. This is not to devalue the power of the enthusiastic, talented, charismatic, high-principled, or for that matter the unscrupulous teacher in the one-to-one and one-to-class inequality of the classroom. It is simply to remind us how modest can be the match between Education and Learning. The circle of Learning is much larger than that smaller circle which circumscribes Education within it. This smaller circle may at times fail almost entirely to encompass any learning within it!

The relationship as I have seen it put forward by an Australian State Director-General of Education is as represented in model six. Model seven might be more widely acknowledged to represent reality, since learning is known to be lifelong and life-wide. Model eight, sadly, is probably nearer the truth still.



Learning Rather Than Education?

Distinguishing Learning from Education is scarcely original; but confusion still occurs. In particular the adult education community is prone to talk and write of learning rather than education, I think because this seems to stress the individual learner rather than the educational provider. This is healthy, since what matters is what is really gained, i.e. learned, not what is transmitted but not received. It is unhealthy if it simply confuses the language and misuses the word; and unhealthy if it obscures the important fact that most of the resources of education get to the most highly advantaged, and in the case of adult education to those with the most previous education. Stressing the equalising fact that everyone can learn throughout life must not hide the unequal fact that some get much more of the educational goodies than others.

The important difference between Education (provision) and Learning (acquisition) is recognised in the growing interest in "competencies". Competencies as recognised especially in National Vocational Qualifications (NVQs) emphasise not what is taught, or provided, but what skills and abilities the person actually possesses. What matters is having learned (effectively); not how learning was gained. There is a struggle going on, in places like the CNAA's CAT Committee rather than yet in university faculty meetings, to convert provider-driven criteria for measuring the success of education (known as time-serving since the currency is commonly the number of teaching hours, or perhaps notional study hours) to the direct empowerment of learners, by acknowledging and accrediting what they can show they have learned - through NVQs for example. If the State has now grasped the point that it is learning that counts rather than the act and process of teaching as such, what might this suggest for the relationship between adult education and active citizenship?

Producing Competent Citizens?

One obvious response is that we might recognise citizenship competencies by accrediting them through some certification system like NVQs. An instinctual reaction is that this is to lose sight of the essential purpose: that it risks cooptation into a system of individualised attainment which might as well be contrary to the practice of active citizenship. I would rather leave this as a question for reflection than pretend that I have a clear view as to the answer.

Returning to the core-periphery metaphor, NVQs and competencies suggest that the State is shifting its attention from the core (Education or provision) to the periphery (Learning

as shown by measurable outcomes). Oddly, this looks a little more like moving towards "deschooling society", and creating a "learning society", rather than "imprisonment in a global classroom" (Illich and Verne 1976). What, however, is now taught formally, deliberately, legitimately, about being a member - a citizen - of the society? And what ils learned about the same things, at school? In Britain we bewail the failures of the education system. There is a high level of alienation among half or more of school students before they complete the compulsory phase of schooling. Withdrawal at the earliest permitted age, 16 years, is high compared with our "competitors" (as they are called in the international economic sports league beloved of politicians). Often school students drop out psychologically or even withdraw physically long before they reach age 16. Only a few of these are netted In the truancy figures. Take-up into highe. education, measured as the age participation rate or APR at 16+, 16-19 or 18+, is low - unacceptably so in the land of "homo economicus"' for our active citizen is meant to learn in order to earn, and earn in order to consume.

I am not really interested here in school drop-out and alienation in terms of national policy - or as making or losing business for CE and HE; only in what is learned about society and citizenship in the powerful informal and peripheral sense. For a small number of favoured students who go to private schools, and some others who perform well in state schools, the lesson is that this is a land of opportunity, with great rewards for approved social endeavour. For the majority, probably, the lesson is that society and its good things belong to other people; that it is not for participating in; that one is separated from it by failure and denial of access to decision-making and the places where this happens; that it is for "them" but not for "us".

This is over-simplified but essentially true. The hidden curriculum of school - and of the "school of life" for a black kid on the city streets - is that "being an active citizen", participating in the approved organised life of the school or local community, means different things depending on your gender, colour, family income and parents' occupation. It is for some, not for others. "Society" and its main rewards belong to others rather than to you and your likes. Participation is then within a sub- or counter-culture which denies and opposes the idea of citizenship. In some cases, of course, such sub-cultural participation can be so successful as to change the power structure - to overthrow or separate off from the dominant State, creating a new State - and possibly a new Society.

Second Chance AE for Second Class Citizens?

Is there any sense in which lessons of powerlessness and exclusion can be "unlearnt" in adult life? Can organised AE convert hostile and alienated "non-citizens" into a different sense of ownership of, and participation in, the (dominant) society? There is only an apparent tension here with the idea of plural civic society which affords a number of alternative power sources to counterbalance the power of that political State which can become the enemy of civic society and citizenship (Dahrendorf 1990). Civic pluralism is a symphony of players, diverse their instruments and music. For many, almost surely a majority in Britain and other of the liberal democracies, citizenship via the sense and practice of civic participation does not exist.

Adult education may do nothing direct, and perhaps little indirectly, for these passive citizens. They are typically non-adult education joiners also - non-participants in education as also in public civic life. Where adult education, through neighbourhood,, outreach, specially targeted, schemes, succeeds in breaking through the class and psychological barrier, the same issues about Education (curriculum, formal or core) and the more powerful, unacknowledged or peripheral, between-the-lines Learning through

the process of participation in AE, noted in the school situation for youngsters, represents itself. In this sense citizenship may be learned, or picked up, through positive experience of participation, rather than taught through the content of curriculum. Subsequently, an intellectual process may be able to provide a conceptual framework for understanding this change; but concept learning will not lead the way. Similarly, social skills for participation can be picked up through Ae activity; but until a threshold is passed it is unlikely that skills for active citizenship will be actively acquired from explicit teaching. There is no rationale and motivation for engaging in such deliberate learning behaviour prior to "threshold empowerment". Citizenship leadership training follows rather than precedes the fundamental learning about active citizenship - that it is possible and has meaning for oneself, and not just for others.

Universities - "how" or "about"?

I may appear to have strayed a long way from the role of the universities in adult education. We have however returned to adults' learning about being a citizen - learning about and especially learning how. Herein - "about" or "how" - lies one problem. Universities have reservations, in the liberal tradition, over helping people to learn **how** rather than just **about**. Much of the literature of liberal adult education agonises over the question of legitimacy: (adult) education is said to be about understanding, about debate, dialogue and discourse, about discovering all sides of the question, rather than about commitment, activity, action (Taylor et al. 1985, Duke 1988). UAE is also more comfortable with the intellectual, conceptual, cerebral zone rather than with the (slightly more erogenous?) zones of attitudes, feelings and beliefs, wherein are located more of the engines and energies for action. University adult education, committed historically and in principle to active citizenship, as multitudinous citations of the 1919 Report in the literature betray, has suffered some self-induced paralysis about action.

Teachers and Universities

The dilemma is understandable. Immersion of universities in public and political affairs in may countries has been at least uncomfortable, sometimes, for individuals and for institutions, literally deadly. A persuasive case exists for holding universities apart. If this is the ivory tower of self-indulgent, morally superior, detachment, it is hard to say that it does much for citizenship. If it is, rather, sustaining one of a number of semi-independent estates of the realm among which civic power and political influence are divided up and bartered around, leaving both the political State and each of these civic energy-sources unable to dictate over and effectively control civil society, then a different rationale for the autonomous university is revealed. This rationale albeit indirectly, powerfully promotes the concept and possibility of citizenship. We can remind ourselves now of an earlier question: about the role of (school-) teachers. Are they servants, servile extensions of the State and expressions of its will, or one of the many semi-autonomous churches, different economic interests, the media, political parties, and other professions? If teachers are civil servants, public servants in a monolithic sense rather than part of the public civic mosaic wherby power is divided and dispersed, then education by (public) teachers will not advance the learning of citizenship other than in a neutered sense rejected throughout this paper.

Neutering of potential, loss of potency, can occur for other reasons. Self-censorship is identified as one reason why the universities (or their EMDs) may have become politico-civically ineffectual (Fieldhouse 1990). Direct political interference is rare, but may be unnecessary because this is self-censorship. While cases of interference can be garnered (and I can cite some from my own experience) they do not for me explain a failure of UAE

to assist active citizenship. My own experience in Anglo-Australian contexts is that interference can be diverted, side-stepped, or simply refuted. The conflict can win as well as lose free space. I suspect that the failure, if failure there be, is explained more by loss of vision, will and commitment, added to by accretion of functions and duties on CE departments which divert attention from this "high moral value" area of the work; and added to also by the sheer difficulty of selling citizenship-related subject-matter to a post-political citizenry (The Past or Pondlife of Warwickshire is a winner, the future of Warwickshire, the nation or the world much less attractive a topic). But the particular professional ethic or self-concept of the university teacher, certainly in British and I suspect in most European societies, as a transmitter and analyst of knowledge and culture via academic disciplines, using head and maybe hands rather than heart or guts, disables UAE from much that is central to learning (about) citizenship.

If this is largely true, and universities are still mainly about the study of subjects backed by the acquisition of occupation-oriented skills, then at their core, and in their curriculum, they too can do little about the learning of citizenship. On the other hand, for better for worse, there was a spell of learning active citizenship in universities twenty years ago, not planned or welcomed by the authorities, the results of which we still feel. For a brief while the periphery invaded the core. More often, the citizenship learning takes place in and through the university community but not through any planned curriculum. Insofar as higher education is, and increasingly becomes, part of the nation's (State's) educational core, the learning relevant to citizenship will tend to migrate out to the periphery. As UAE (or CE) is increasingly integrated or mainstreamed (eg. Access, part-time degrees), desirable as this is for other reasons, citizenship learning will become less rather than more central or probable.

The Challenge for UAE

This is not a counsel of despair. Let me finish as I promised by taking up a challenge from Bill Hampton. Hampton notes that

> the approach of the 1980s [in Britain] was to reduce the reliance on state provision and to emphasise the role of the individual as consumer rather than citizen... In the 1970s, the emphasis [in political education for adults] was placed on a discussion of how to enable people to participate more widely in the provision of public services... Although inherently controversial, the role of adult education was clearly to enable people to contribute more effectively to the political process as active citizens.
>
> The educational support required by a consumer is different...The emphasis is less on political processes and more on consumer advice... There is less emphasis on civic or collective consciousness and more emphasis on private or personalised solutions to the provision of public services... The challenge for adult education remains. There is a need to maintain an awareness of the wider social and political framework that constrains the present approach of consumer choice (Hampton 1990, 10-11).

The ideological choice in Britain is stark, even after the resignation of Mrs Thatcher, whose economic liberalism, or radical conservatism, took her to the point of asserting the non-existence of society. This extreme economic individualism has fed on an older, gentler, tradition of liberal individualism which tolerates disagreement and eccentricity, but leaves too little protection for the needs of the collectivity - the commonweal or common good. The reappearance of beggars on London streets (as in many other towns) demonstrates that the pendulum has swung too far to the individual end: that, for all the

risks of association with "communism", and of association with a frumpishly outdated Welfare State, the needs of the community, communal and civic rights and requirements, must be brought back into a better equilibrium. The Speaker's Commission on Citizenship contrived to tiptoe through this ideological minefield - in a sense balancing rights with duties, individuals with collective.

An adult education **profession** (the privileged elite of which tend to reside in universities) cannot take a completely neutral "liberal" view on issues of the nature of the State, civic society and citizenship. Its professional ethic, if it articulated one, a Socratic oath perhaps to mirror medicine's Hippocratic oath, would have a view about the public good, about civic society, and about the need for the collectivity to invest some present resources, by common consent, in a shared future. In other words, private solutions in a privatised post-polity will not suffice.

Possible Strategies

More tangibly, concerned as I am with what is practicable within a shared vision, rather than with whether it is "legitimate" for UAE to be dedicated to achieving that vision, I suggest a cluster of responses to Bill Hampton's challenge as appropriate to those like myself who work in the privileged UAE sector in the UK.

Much cannot be done inside formal (core) education; and much of what really matters by way of adults' civic learning belongs, only, with citizen movement learning - of women, Green, peace etc.. movements. Active citizenship on the streets of Eastern Europe in recent times has proved to be powerful learning, literally empowering. Provided (core) AE may be positively disempowering. There are however several ways of working. Adult educators in different universities and other differing settings will be able to work in different ways. From where I sit I can see, and try to contribute to, the following:

- widening the scope and roles of formal (core) education in ways that may legitimate civic empowerment through the National (or other) Curriculum (and trying to see that such aims are adhered to - compare Ramakrishnan 1985);

- creating free space within formal adult education (a) to support and maybe cross-subsidise other programmes (b) to allow elbow room within all programmes conducive to learning/teaching active citizenship;

- conscientizing the AE profession to develop a professional role and ethic (a Socratic oath) which incorporates the values underpinning those learning arrangements which teach active citizenship "through the pores";

- inhibiting the disabling and devaluing effects of "education" (core) on other learning (periphery) and on less formal, especially movement-based AE;

- invigorating nongovernmental nonformal adult education and social movement-based learning without trying to call it all (adult) "education" that is, offering the resource bases eg. of university adult education to provide support without being imperialistic (compare Illich and Verne 1976).

References

Bron, A. (1990). "Adult education is a factor for social change: utopy or reality?" Conference on Adult Education as a Social Movement, Wroclaw/Karpacz, October 1990.

Duke, C. (1988). **The Future Shape of Continuing Education and Universities: an inaugural lecture**. DCE, University of Warwick

Duke, C. (1990a). **Old Values and a New Paradigm - Prospects for Adult Education in Britain** (Second Mabel Tylecote Lecture). Manchester.

Duke, C (1990b). "Adult Education, social movements and democracy: what connections?". Conference on Adult Education as a Social Movement, Wroclaw/Karpacz 1990.

Duke, C. (1991). "Participatory democracy: challenges from Australia" **Int. J. of University Adult Education**, XXX, 1.

Dahrendorf, R. (1990). "Europe's Vale of Tears", **Marxism Today** May 1990.

Fieldhouse, R. (1990). "The limitations of British university adult education as an agent for social change during the twentieth century". Conference on Adult education as a Social Movement, Wroclaw/Karpacz, October 1990.

Hampton, W. (1990). "Adult Education and the Active Citizen" **Int. J. of University Adult Education,** XXXIX, 1, 3-14.

Int. Journal of University Adult Education, 1991. XXX, 1.
(special issue edited by Fieldhouse, R. on Adult Education and Democracy).

Illich, I. and Verne, J. (1976). **Imprisoned in the Global Classroom**, Writers and Readers.

McIlroy, J. and Spencer, B. (1988). **University Adult Education in Crisis,** LSACE, Univ. of Leeds.

Ministry of Reconstruction Adult Education Committee (1919). **Final Report**, London, HMSO (reprinted by DAE, Univ. of Nottingham, 1980).

Ramakrishnan, R. (1985). The Indian Adult Education Programme in Tamil Nadu, in Duke, C. (ed.) **Combatting Poverty Through Adult Education: National Development Strategies**, London, Croom Helm.

Speaker's Commission on Citizenship (1990). **Encouraging Citizenship** London, HMSO

Stavenhagen, R. (1986). **National and International Development: challenges to the Universities. Contributions to International Days** - 175th Anniversary of the University of Oslo.

Taylor, R., Fieldhouse, R. and Rockhill, K. (1985). **University Adult Education in England and the USA,** London, Croom Helm.

Abbreviations

AE	adult education
CAT	credit accumulation and transfer
CNAA	Council for National Academic Awards
CE	continuing education
EMD	extramural department
ERA	(1988) Education Reform Act
HE	higher education
NVQ	national vocational qualifications
UAE	university adult education
UCE	university continuing education

THE FUTURE AS A CHALLENGE AND THE ROLE OF ADULT EDUCATION - THE EXAMPLE OF POLAND

Mieczyslaw Malewski
Department of Education
University of Wroclaw Poland

Among the most fundamental questions around which the researchers of social sciences concentrate their works is the question of stability and change in the social system. In modern social science it was posed by Auguste Comte. Since then, philosophers and sociologists have attempted to give an answer, presenting more or less successful theoretical conceptions.

In the history of certain societies it happens that this question loses its theoretical character and becomes an urgent, real social necessity. In such a situation the post-communist societies of Central and Eastern Europe have found themselves. The challenge they are facing can be reduced to three main tasks:

1. First, they must work out a perspective on and vision of the social system, and win approval of the majority for it;

2. Second, they must set up economic, political and legal foundations that will allow realization of the vision;

3. Third, they must release human motivation and transform it into rational collective effort directed at building a new society.

Polish society is facing such enormous difficult tasks at the moment. Representatives of various sciences will define these difficulties differently. For theoreticians and research workers representing social sciences the most important are problems connected with people's consciousness.

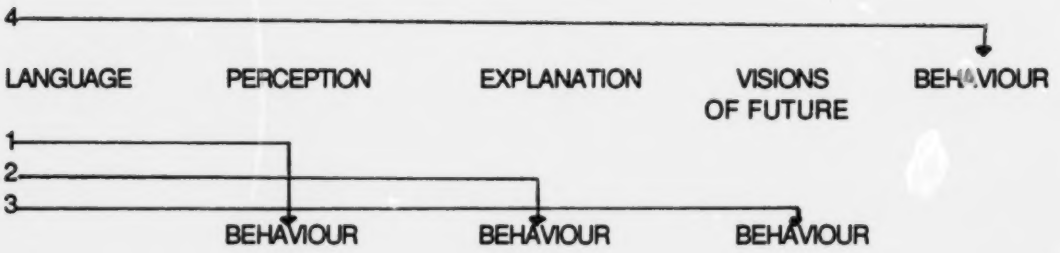
The goal of my paper is to present difficulties and dangers that are connected with transforming Polish society's consciousness in the process of building a new social order and to analyse the role that adult education could play here.

What is a society? This apparently simple question had been given numerous answers contained in modern theoretical systems of sociology. I will not discuss them; for the requirements of my paper one of the simplest answers will do. It claims that society is a system of interactions (Blumer 1962). In order to explain what these interactions consist in, I will make use of three notions: social system, social consciousness and social personality.

The most perceptible dimension of existence of any social system is the organizational or structural one. It consists of political economic, educational and religious organizations and institutions. Along with legal institutions, social classes and strata, professional groups and local communities they form diversified social spaces penetrating one another.

People's location in various dimensions of the global social structure determines the framework of their everyday existence. Character of the profession performed, social status connected with it, level of income, organisation of family life, consumption, participation in culture, amount of leisure time and the way of spending it - these are the factors building one's microcosm. It is similar to microcosms of other people belonging to the same social category. All its characteristic features one learns in the process of socialization. This process was thoroughly described by Peter Berger and Thomas Luckman in their outstanding book **The Social Construction of Reality (1983).** That is why, giving up its deeper characterization, I will just mention that its results are ideas, beliefs, aspirations and attitudes towards reality. Differently speaking we can assume that the final result of socialization is social consciousness common for members of a given social category.

According to M. Marody, within the structure of consciousness we can differentiate three separate though strongly connected, constituent elements (1987: 42). These are: knowledge, values and norms. Knowledge, values and norms transmitted to successive generations in the process of their socialization originates in the interest of particular social groups. Awareness of the existence of interests common to the whole group is the basis for the choice of values. Accepted and internalized values become a prism through which the world is perceived, releasing positive or negative emotions impelling actions that accompany norms accepted in a group. The relationship between the content of social consciousness and action may be presented graphically.



The degree of rationality of an individual's activity depends on which levels of knowledge building his or her consciousness determine his or her behaviour.

1. Behaviour may be a simple reaction to perceived reality. Such a reaction is devoid of intellectual elements. It is based only on emotions and orientated towards the results. For example, an individual perceives a given fact which she considers negative and immediately undertakes action to remove it, without analysing the causes of its appearing once and not wondering if a fight against its results is rational behaviour.
2. Behaviour is a reaction to perceived and understood reality. It is based on intellectual analysis grasping causes and results. Behaviour aims at restoring causes and at minimizing results that, because of the adopted values, are estimated negatively.
3. An individual perceives the reality that he or she judges negatively and is able to identify its causes. He or she is also able to create some optional visions of the future. Behaviour aims at forming reality according to its normative visions. In such a way the new reality is to replace the reality existing previously.
4. The fourth type of behaviour is most rational. An individual perceives the reality he or she judges negatively, understands causes evoking it and is able to create alternative visions. On that basis he or she undertakes actions to remove causes that brought about the negatively viewed reality, to minimalize its disadvantageous results, and to build new, desired reality.

The above presented analysis shows that the source of people's social activity is the content of their consciousness. People's behaviour depend on the way in which the world is perceived, on emotions evoked by its picture and on norms ordering employment of certain programmes of activity. Individual and collective behaviours build up a net of interactions - the basic texture of each society.

Consciousness of Polish Society -
Representation Based on Empirical Research

Theoretical assumptions have been hitherto used to construct a framework for displaying empirical data manifesting the state of Polish society's consciousness. On that basis I will try to show the difficulties we come across in the process of building democracy, and to identify their causes.

The central place in the structure of social consciousness is occupied by values. Research into the Poles' systems of values has been carried our for many years. The results show that Polish society's preferences are very stable (Nowak 1979). The most highly regarded value, equally important for all social groups is family. Because of its rank it is autotelic. There is a range of instrumental values concentrated round it, that are important in so far as their realization serves achieving the autotelic value. Among them are: income, possession of a flat, job, education and health.

The second autotelic value in the hierarchy is friends. The value of friends has a strong emotional significance for many people. Having friends strengthens one's feeling safe in both psychological and social senses. Friendly links and duties appeal to Poles to such an extent that they are often stronger than family links. Friends are also a normative reference group. This means that opinions of friendly circles have a great influence on their member's behaviour, therefore they have a conforming function.

The third autotelic value is the Polish nation. Nationhood is defined by Poles as ethnic community formed on the basis of a common difficult history, and as a group of identical ideological and moral beliefs. Nation is sharply separated from the state, which is perceived as the organizational form of nation's existence and does not evoke people's identification. We could say that Poles' attitudes towards their state are comparable with Americans' towards successive administrations of the White House.

If we were to refer to values of the Polish society to the structure of the social system proposed by E.A. Shils (1975), it would be easily noticeable that they are located on the lowest and the highest level of this structure. Values do not form a system or - taking it differently - they construct a "split" system. In Poland, as in other countries, there are economic organizations, political, trade unions etc., but they do not evoke emotional identification, they are not values. This phenomenon S.Nowak calls a "sociological vacuum" (1988). Explaining its essence the author states that in ordinary consciousness, the global social system is reflected in a deformed way. It appears to people as a federation of primary groups united in the national community. It is relatively easy to clarify the phenomenon of "sociological vacuum".

If we consider the structure of the social system proposed by E.A. Shils, we will see two model strategies of state building. The first, characteristic for democratic systems, lis a strategy proceeding from below. Endeavouring to satisfy their needs people living in a community establish various organizations and institutions and control their proper functioning. It is similar with a state. The State is a common wealth whose main task is

to provide conditions of secure and fair life for its citizens. If it does not perform its duty properly, citizens correct its functioning through delivering it in free elections to another political party who - they believe - will fulfil their expectations.

The Polish state was formed according to a different, authoritarian strategy. The Socialist system was imposed on Poles after World War II by a narrow group of people holding to communist ideology. It was carried out regardless of the will of many social groups. The task of suppressing opposition the state gave to their own institutions. Taking it differently, state organizations and institutions did not satisfy people's needs, but controlled and subordinated their behaviour so as to make them fit the ruling group's interest. That is why the majority of Poles is deeply averse if not hostile towards the world of institutions, they do not engage in their functioning and they try, as hard as possible, not to get in touch with them.

The absence of an institutional dimension of the social structure in people's consciousness has a wide range of negative consequences. The most important is global frustration of the society. S. Nowak says that Polish society is "under stress". (1978: 48-51). The source is the lack of possibilities to achieve the values which are most highly regarded. As I have just said, Poles aim at obtaining material values in order to create appropriate conditions of life in the family. The Socialist economy successfully made it impossible. Its most remarkable feature was central planning. It meant the necessity to produce goods and services prescribed in the plan regardless of the coasts. The consequence of such economic solution was a permanent lack of goods, worse quality in comparison to foreign ones, and low payments of working people. Low standards of everyday life were accompanied by another problem - the lack of space to live. It is estimated that as many as 60% of young families (up to 35 years) do not possess their own flat at the moment. People can wait for a flat as long as 20 years or even more. Purchase of a flat on the free market is practically impossible when we consider the fact that e,g, in Warsaw it is twice as expensive as a flat in Brooklyn, New York.

The lack of possibilities to influence social institutions was even more painful for educated people performing creative jobs. Apart from deprivation of material needs, they felt their performed profession to be senseless. For example, a teacher could deliver only the information that was allowed by the central programme of teaching, a writer could write only such books that were accepted by censorship, a theatre manager could stage only such plays that were approved by the local authority. Such relations of work together with strong frustration led to devaluation of work. It is obvious that work wrongly organized, inefficient, not providing appropriate conditions of life, devoid of any sense, cannot be a positive value.

The third consequence of the lack of opportunities to influence the institutions of public life are attitudes of "learned helplessness". One of the socialism's features was monopolization of everyday life. The state's duty was to secure for each citizen work, a place for a child in a kindergarten to create conditions for participation in culture, to provide each shop with basic goods etc. The citizen's duty was political loyalty and patient waiting for the state to fulfil the promised obligations. Such a situation formed a stable belief in the individual's helplessness and it was a strong barrier inhibiting initiative, enterprise, innovation and resourcefulness.

Socialism may be analysed from various points of view. An economist will stress the lack of economic efficiency of this system. A lawyer will point at the suppressing of individual rights. From a sociologist's point of view its worst and most dangerous effects are those I have already mentioned. Let me repeat that these are: society's frustration

at the economic background, devaluation of work, attitudes of helplessness and apathy, hostility towards the state and aversion to involvement in public affairs.

That is why the first place in Poles' hierarchy of values is occupied by family and groups of friends. Being unable to influence his or her life through professional and civil activity, an individual looked for shelter in social microstructures. Family and friends gave him acceptance, reinforced self-esteem, strengthened belief in the sense of life. Briefly speaking they performed psychotherapeutic functions. I have not heard if social sciences know cases of psychotherapy on such a mass scale as in Poland.

The Establishment of the trade union "Solidarity", and the socio-constitutional changes begun by its leaders, resulted in fundamental political changes. Deeper economic reforms have not been successfully carried out yet. All the larger industrial plants are still state property. Their economic efficiency is low. Last year the value of industrial production fell by 25%. That is why about 30% of Polish families live under the social minimum standard. Nearly 50% of families declare that as much as 60% of their income must be spent on buying food. The attempt to reform the economy resulted in unemployment. This phenomenon, unknown to us previously, affects 63% of the total working force and shows tendencies to grow bigger.

Frustration over the economic conditions is causing many enormously serious dangers for emerging democracy. The first is the growth of delinquency and brutalization of social life. In 1990 criminal delinquency grew by 80% and delinquency against property by 100%. The second reaction to frustration is the problem of escaping. Nearly 75% of young Poles declare that their desire is to leave the country, temporarily or for good. They justify their plans by hope of a better life abroad. The growth of the religious attitudes that we observe in Poland may be also treated as the form of escapism.

The third consequence of frustration is the prevailing apathy and aversion to participation in public affairs. Over 100 political parties and associations of diverse orientations have been established recently. Among them are such exotic parties as "A Party of Beer's Friends". Some have tens of thousands of members, others not even a hundred. Generally speaking, they attract a small percentage of society.

This structural disorganization of society creates a dangerous situation. People who feel endangered by external reality and who have the right of a free choice at the time, are often inclined to give up their freedom for the sake of true of false authorities. It is a well known mechanism of escape from freedom described by Erich Fromm. The second possible reaction to the situation of permanently feeling endangered is a social explosion. It is worth noticing that strikes in Poland are undertaken by farmers, miners, railwaymen or post-office workers. I have not heard that teachers, writers, actors or scientists have thought about going on strike, although people in these professions are not financially better off than manual workers. Explanation of these different attitudes must be sought in the structure of social consciousness. Farmers or railwaymen are not highly educated, and their behaviour has an emotional character. It is a simple consequence of perceiving reality which concerns the person himself and his nearest surroundings. People capable of intellectual analysis of social situation can be patient and ready to sacrifice.

This remark leads us to the question:

What can education do?

Although I am professionally involved in adult education, I am far from overstating its social role. Moreover, the better I know the macrosocial conditions of adult education, the more distinctly I see how many factors limit its social impact. In order not to anticipate the final conclusion I would like to come back to the basic question.

The fact of living in similar socio-economical conditions and of participation in the same culture tends to homogenize people's consciousness. On the basis of social consciousness elements common for all, the structure of a higher level is being built. It is a social personality or basic personality. This notion has usually been used to describe typical, more distinct, culturally conditioned features characteristic for members of a given ethnic community (Linton 1985). Simultaneously, psychologists have undertaken attempts to construct certain models of social personality. The best known are oppositional constructs: the authoritarian personality and the democratic one, egoistic personality and prosocial. If we cross these constructs, we obtain four theoretical possibilities.

Living under the socio-economical conditions of real socialism tended to form an authoritarian and egoistic personality. I am far from stating that this type of personality is characteristic for all poles. But certainly, it is a dominant type, and the frequency of its occurrence in particular social categories is inversely proportional to the educational level of their members. Empirical research shows that the worst educated groups, authoritarian features are demonstrated by nearly 70% (Koralewicz 1984). A question arises at this moment: is a society in which such a model of personality dominates able to build democratic social relationships? A negative answer would entirely deny the sense of my paper. It seems purposeful for me to point at the need for two parallel directions of action. First, the economic and political conditions of social life should be changed in such a way as gradually to minimise the level of society's frustration. Secondly, educational offerings for adults should be undertaken, which would allow them a deeper insight into the situation of our society. Only then will their attitudes and behaviour be more rational.

The postulates presented prove that my trust in adult education is rather limited. My opinion is that the best educational ideas will be void if their truthfulness is denied by people's everyday experience.

References

Polish edition: Berger P.L., Luckmann T., 1983. **Spoleczne Tworzenie rzeczywistosci.** Warsaw.

Blumer H., 1962 Society as Symbolic Interaction,/in./:/Rose A./ed./ **Human Behaviour and Social Processes.** Boston, Houghton Mifflin

Koralewicz J., 1984 O autorytaryzmie w Polsce w soku 1984/ On Authorisation in Poland in 1984/, **Studia Socjologiczne** No.2.

Linton R., 1945 **The Cultural Background of Personality.** Meredith Corp.

Marody M., 1987 **Technologie intelektu. Jezykowe determinanty wiedzy potocznej i ludzkiego dzialsnis/** Technologies of the Intellect. The Linguistic Determinants of Everyday Knowledge and Human Action/, Warsaw.

Nowak S., 1979 System wartosci spoleczenstwa polskiego/ System of Values of the Polish Society/, **Studia Socjologiczne** No. 4.

Nowak S., 1988 "Spoleczenstwo polskie drugiej polowy lat osiemdziesiatych. Proba diagnozy stanu swiadomosci spolecznej"/Polish Society in the Second Half of the Eighties. An attempt of Diagnosis of Social Consciousness's State/, **Studia Socjologiczne** No 1.

Shils E.A., 1975 Center and Periphery. **Essays in Macrosociology**, Chicago.

EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP IN SWEDEN

Agnieska Bron-Wojciechowska
Department of Education and Psychology
Linkoping University

INTRODUCTION

As an introduction three remarks should be made. First, Sweden has a long tradition in the area of active citizenship. Social movements from the beginning engaged many people who were actively fighting for political, civil and social rights.

Second, the Swedish population was and is quite well educated, thanks to formal education and popular and adult education. The literacy of the Swedish population goes back to the 17th century.

Third, in contemporary Sweden one can hardly find massive active citizenship. The opposite occurs: that is, passivity both among the young and adult population, they believe in the authorities right to "govern" both individual and collective life.

This last remark is the reason to ask the question: what does active citizenship in Sweden mean, how it is and was perceived by people, what role can it play today, and what is the role of adult education strengthening it?

Swedish researchers are interested in this field of enquiry, but mostly in its historical aspects. There are active historians, for example: Bernt Gustavsson (1991), Rony Ambjornson, and Lundkvist (1977) to name a few. There are adult educationalists interested in historical aspects of the problem, like Lars Arvidson with his new project on popular education and citizenship, and Thomas Ginner, who looked at a specific group i.e. workers and their way to education (Ginner 1988).

Other researchers are even interested in the modern period, like political scientists engaged in the project on Who has power in Sweden, the so called POWER investigation (Petersson, O., Westholme, A., Blomberg, G., 1989). Sociologists are interested in these aspects as well, but mostly on the surface they carry out quantative investigations about the participation of children and adults in social movements (Blomdahl, U. 1990). In the area of school education there are some studies concerning curriculum research (Englund,T. 1989).

There are no adult educationalists or educationists who are investigating the problem of active citizenship and adult education role in contemporary Sweden. Both projects on **Medborganas makt** (Citizens Power) and **Folkrorelsen och folket.** (Social, Movements and the People) do not take pedagogical problems into consideration. That is why it seems that there is a gap in the research field just good enough to be taken up by adult educationists.

1. BACKGROUND

1.1 The Concept

It is important, I think, to define the concept of citizenship. Two principles are the basis for understanding the concept of citizenship, according to Swedish authors. It is the principle of the human beings' equal value and their equal rights. By this is meant that all individuals are fully valuable participants in society (Petersson et al., 1989, Bjornsson, 1981, Korpi, 1982).

The general concept of citizenship included several aspects which step by step over a long period of time finally seemed to be achieved. In the **Encyclopedia Britannica,** citizenship is defined as the:

> "...relationship between an individual and a state, defined by the law of that state, with corresponding duties and rights in that state. Citizenship is derived from the historical relationship between an individual and his city. Citizenship implies the status of freedom with accompanying responsibilities. Nationality, although often synonymous with citizenship, includes the relationship of an individual to a state but suggests other privileges, especially protection abroad .... Generally, political rights, such as suffrage and the right to hold public office, are predicated upon citizenship. Usual incidents of citizenship are allegiance and military duty."

Swedish political scientists who are engaged in the publicy funded project concerning the problem of Power in Sweden take as a point of departure the definition of citizenship which was elaborated by T.H. Marshall (1964). Being aware of its simplicity I am going to present Marshall's definition any way, because it is used by the Swedish researchers (Petersson, et al. 1989).

The concept of citizenship, according to Marshall (1964), includes three elements: the civil, the political and the social.

The Civil aspect means all those rights of an individual, which are necessary to protect the personal freedom. Generally, it means to protect one's life and property, the freedom of speech, the freedom of thinking and religion, right to free agreement and finally the legal rights. The most important element of civil citizenship is the legal equality. Therefore the role of the courts are crucial here. Nobody shall be treated specially because of his/her origin,

The political aspect of citizenship includes, on the other hand, equal rights for participation in exercising the political power. No one can be refused the possibility of making a political task. All citizens must have the right to choose their representatives. Political citizenship's basic principle is: one man - one vote. At the same time democratization of institutions must be established. The lower classes reach access to the political decision process step by step. This historical development includes the freedom to organize and the open and secret election.

The social side of citizenship means that the individual is assured basic security. All citizens have a right to the civilized life in accordance to the standard which exists in the particular society. Each individual has a right to participate in the cultural heritage of the society. The main principle is here: welfare to all. Special institutions are

established to provide citizens with education and social advantage.

1.2 Historical Development of the Concept

It is a historical fact that all aspects of citizenship did not develop at the same time and not with the same speed. According to Marshal (1964) they were coming in chronologically, according to the given pattern. Thus, civil rights were the first to be achieved and they became a 18th century contribution. During the 19th century the democratization of political institutions through parliamentarism and the common right to vote were established. The third aspect - the expansion of welfare - is the accomplishment of our century.

According to our Swedish researchers (Petersson et al., 1989) the pattern of stages is better anchored in some countries than others. The pattern was inspired by the history of England. It does not fit, for example, in the case of Germany. The principle of legal equality did not become common until the late 19th century there. The German constitutional state did not have the liberal and democratic character as the English had.

1.3 Citizenship Development in Sweden

The Swedish investigators engaged in the "Power" project point out the difference between the Swedish and the English development.

In Sweden political aspects of citizenship (with universal suffrage as the final goal) played a more important role than civil rights, and were achieved before any other rights, but it took some time to reach that end (1918).

Civil rights were achieved second. Petersson et al (1989) underlies that it was social-democracy's contribution to fight for civil rights and eventually to achieve them.

Thirdly, it has been possible to achieve social rights both thanks to social-democracy being in power and to economical progress.

How these three stages developed in different countries, stress Petersson et al (1989), is not so important. What is important, however, is that there are three dimensions of the concept of citizenship, and that those dimensions are based on the principle of equality. All people are equal as far as rights and responsibilities of citizenship are concerned.

These three main principles of the concept of citizenship, all dated from the French Revolution: **liberty, equality and brotherhood.** They are the main elements of what we call human rights.

It is possible here to present the notion of "three generations of human rights" advanced by the French jurist Karel Vasak. Inspired by the three normative themes of the French Revolution, they are: the first generation of civil and political rights (**liberte**); the second generation of economic, social, and cultural rights (**egalite**); and the third generation of newly called solidarity rights (**fraternite**). Vasak's model is of course a simplified expression of an extremely complex historical record; it is not intended as a literal representation of life, in which one generation gives birth to the next and then dies away.

Coming back to the Swedish case it is necessary to stress that it is important to look at

Swedish history, and especially the history of literacy, to understand the role of Swedes in fighting for their human rights.

The absolute state and the Church have in a way prepared the ground for further development. Since the sixteenth century, the Protestant faith has placed a strong emphasis upon **literacy**. Because of this emphasis, the majority of the common people and even the peasants were literate. This was not achieved by schooling, but through the work of the parents and guardians who were obliged to teach their children how to read. Priests of each parish had an obligation to control the progress of reading skills of their parishioners.

People were encouraged to learn how to read, but any discussion was forbidden. The "examination" in reading began in Sweden at the end of the 17th century and lasted until the end of the 19th century (Ambjornsson, 1987).

The **educational standard** of the Swedish population was high, in fact, very high in comparison with other countries because most people could read. However, what most people read were religious texts: catechism, psalm books and the bibles. Through reading instruction, they were also taught about their position in the social structure. This was a vertical patriarchal society of a pre-industrial type. The father in the family had the obligation to teach all the household members how to read and functioned as a teacher of morals for the family. Members of the family were subordinated to the father, who, in turn, was subordinated to the priest who was subordinated in the hierarchy in the Church authority.

Religious reaction against the patriarchal society also came from the educated people. The **new class** was formed during the end of the 18th century and was educated in Enlightenment philosophy and **social awareness**. The **middle class** looked upon society more critically and was aware of the importance of social reforms based on justice, freedom and the enlightenment of the people. However, we cannot yet talk about a modern society. The formation of new class was a direct consequence of both industrialization and the social awareness which had not occurred as yet. The development of the middle class, however, can be seen as an important factor in building democracy and the social movements in Sweden.

The French revolution did not influence social change in Sweden, nor had any immediate impact on it. Swedish society was not industrial yet, but it was not as hierarchical as other societies, i.e. it was much more open and the social upward mobility was easier.

What really contributed to the thoughts of citizenship rights were social movements. The three largest Swedish social movements of the 19th century were: **the free church, the temperance, and the workers' movements.** We can trace these movements in the years between 1750 and 1800 and look at the conditions for their development.

The 'religious awakening' accompanied pietism during the beginning of the 18th century. It was not in opposition to the Church, rather, it was complementary to it. Nevertheless, there was some covert resistance towards the church, against the unity of the church and the state. The result of this tension can be seen in the Conventicle Act from 1720 (see Lundkvist, 1977).

At the same time, there were other streams coming from different perspectives which wanted to abolish this unity. Enlightenment thought advocated individual religious

autonomy and the possibility of the new theological understanding. Even here, followers of Romanticism who accepted individual freedom and non-confessional vision could be included (Lundkvist).

The oldest Swedish temperance movement has its roots in the 18th century (Lundkvist). Its aim was to restrict the consumption of alcohol and not to forbid it.

We can even see the beginning of worker's movements in the 18th century. Lundkvist (1977) refers to Rolf Karbom (1970), who stresses that the trade union movements origins can be found in the tradition of discontent of people who were not workers yet, using the modern terminology. This tradition goes to the 1790s.

2. EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP

2.1 State Educational Policy

Sweden had rather early compulsory schooling in the form of the folk school, and a library for adults in each parish. The year was 1842, but it took more than one century to establish the school system as a uniform one. This meant that the one school on primary level (up to 9 years) is obligatory for all children, there is no differentiating. Such schools were first introduced after the 1962 reform.

The Swedish school system is characterized with two main goals: to educate children and youth for "citizenship", and to give a basis for further education and/or work.

2.2 Social Movements

Social movements were in opposition to the traditional culture, the state church and its hierarchy, the moral behaviour of the people (alcoholism) and against working conditions. Thus, it was not difficult for the popular movements to encourage their members to undertake educational activities.

Popular movements which developed in Sweden in the 19th century and became strong in the beginning of the 20th century are recognized as counter-culture or protest movements. Their protest was directed against the state Church, state policy and economy respectively by different movements. In such circumstances, it was natural for popular education activity to become oppositional, a free movement of a spiritual (intellectual) kind, with the demand to change mental conditions (Johansson 1987).

Popular movements included wide social strata. In 1920 three the largest movements of independent church, temperance and of workers represented 830,000 members. This means that together with youngsters they constituted about one third of Sweden's population. Towns and industrial regions were mostly receptive, but there were also many country people who played an important role in developing the movements.

Two main ideas were characteristic for the movements: progress and brotherhood. Ambjornsson (1987: 40) stresses that *"they were parts of the same whole ideas, which we can call reformism."* People's education and reforms were believed to create a new and a better mankind. Centuries of injustice would be overcome if only members studied them together, discussed them, and made measures in the democratic way.

Education was a very important instrument for the movements in reaching individual and collective goals. It prepared a new kind of citizen who could play a responsible role in the modern society. People learned how to use dialogue instead of confrontation. According to Lundkvist (1977) the dialogue was more important than the revolution and that is why there never was a need for it.

2.3 The State and the Social Movements

Popular education became an alternative to the state elementary and higher education. Popular movements pointed to those values which were not recognized by the state apparatus, but which attracted common people. In addition to being an alternative to elementary and higher education, popular education became the only way, for a great number of people, of continuing their education after six years of elementary school.

To understand the role of popular education in the democratization process of the state, it is necessary to say a few words about Swedish society in the 19th century. One of the Swedish historians, Lundkvist (1977:225), describes it in the following way. During the period of 1850 to 1920 society went through a great transition. The population increased from 3.5 to 5.9 millions. There was widespread urbanization: from 10 to 50 percent. While agriculture decreased, industry and trade increased considerably, engaging more and more of the population. But still 44 per cent of people were engaged in agriculture while 35 percent worked in industry. There was intensive geographical mobility; emigration to the USA, migration to towns and seasonal labour migration. These helped spread new ideas and engage people in popular movements and groups. The literacy increased due to six-year obligatory schooling. The society of estates became during these years a modern class society.

The popular movements not only contributed to the non-violent, non-revolutionary transition from the old to the new society, but they even contributed in the democratization of the state. The structure and the organization of the popular movements were from the beginning democratic. "*The members of respective movements had obtained an organisational and a democratic training. They learnt how to handle a chairman's gavel and to accommodate themselves to a majority resolutions*" writes Lundkvist (1977:232)). Thus, people learned democracy by doing and feeling it.

The popular movements, and their educational work should be recognized as a great achievement in the development of the modern Swedish society and democracy. "*They had learnt to let different social classes live together and work together to reach primary goals of the movement. The struggle between the classes was real and on certain acute occasions it is clearly visible, especially when the movements worked for secondary goals*" writes Lundkvist (1977: 233).

When the goals of changing the society were achieved, the movements gradually changed their tactics. It could be illustrated by the subjects studied bythe study circles. Until the beginning of the 20th century, all the subjects useful for movements prevailed, such as negotiation techniques, knowledge about the movement, social legislation, economics and general questions of democracy. From 1920 there was a change towards activity focused on leisure, hobbies, foreign languages and aesthetic education. It was connected with the stabilization of the movements, as well as with the fact that fundamental goals had already been accomplished. Arvidson (1987) calls this process a change from the

instrumental treatment of knowledge towards knowledge as the aim itself.

We may treat the relation between adult education and the Swedish society as a process. At the beginning, free and democratic folk or popular education was functioning as a protest against stabilized values and norms. It was an instrument of social changes. When democratization was achieved, the protest character of the movements disappeared.

Today social movements are losing their membership. They have difficulty in activating people as they are strongly subordinated to the state mostly because of the financial support. **THE OLD SOCIAL MOVEMENTS' IMPORTANT ISSUES ARE NOT OF THE SAME INTEREST AS BEFORE.**

For example as far as free churches are concerned in the form of protestant sects their membership is very little (ca 200,000) and the new sects are getting new members from other sects, thus there is no inflow (a big majority of the Swedish population is secularized and the rest is active in the Swedish Church).

As far as the temperance movement is concerned, even if alcoholism is still a problem, it does not get enough support from the public - times have changed and the new culture behaviour as far as drinking is concerned became a more continental one (more wine and beer drinking than strong alcohol).

The workers' movement lost not its membership but its active membership. Workers' trade unions became an active partner through bureaucrats' representation, often losing their connection with members at the workplace.

The "new" social movements are still developing and do not have much membership.

2.4 Adult Education

Gradually, adult education has been organized by numerous different associations and became independent from popular movements. One half of the Swedish folk high schools are run by municipalities. Arvidson (1987) stresses that the role of the movements in deciding the educational ideology of the study circles has diminished considerably. Since 1950 a new ideology has prevailed, that is the ideology of the study circles, or rather the association of study circles. Arvidson calls this change a transition from common, collective beliefs to individualism.

2.4.1 Formal adult education

The earliest forms of Swedish adult education had a non-formal character. That is they did not give access to what might be called simple second chance education. Formal adult education has a shorter history. The first state evening school for adults was established in 1938 at Stockholm. Later the state was more engaged in organizing schools for adults, but only as late as 1967 was the reform made to establish KOMVUX (municipality Adult Education). It includes schools which compensate for the lack of primary or/and secondary education among the adult population (i.e. second chance education). In 1964 there were almost 10,000 participants who attended evening secondary schools (the

precursors to komvux), not including vocational schools participants at schools run by komvux (see Hoghielm, 1985).

The aims of formal adult education are similar to those of regular schools for children and youth, i.e. to educate for citizenship, and to prepare for further studies or employment. That is why to study these schools curricula is of a great importance.

2.4.2 Non-Formal adult education

Study circles and folk high schools are the main forms of adult education in Sweden. They are run by social movements, associations, as well as municipalities. There are 128 residential folk high schools nowadays in Sweden, and eleven organizations which run study circles who are attended by 2,000,000 participants yearly (the Swedish population is 8.2 million). Such a big number of participants does not mean, however, that every second adult in Sweden is attending a study circle, because one participant can attend several circles, and indeed this is often the case.

Non-formal education for adults has a tradition of citizenship education, i.e. to educate for equality, liberty and solidarity with others; simply to educate to tolerance and democracy. These goals are still topical even if more practical and hobby oriented activities prevail. People are mostly choosing subject areas connected with their own body development, i.e. sport activities, physical therapy, food therapy, hobbies etc.

2.4.3 Job-oriented education and personal development

There are two forms of this kind of education in Sweden, Firstly, there is state owned Labour Market Education (AMU) which serves mostly low and middle educated adults to get qualification or to re-qualify. This form is very important to keep the unemployment rate down and send people to re-qualifying courses. Vocational courses at AMU are always connected with general knowledge in Swedish, and arithmetic but also with citizenship education.

Secondly there is personal education run by private and state enterprises for their employees. Such education is mostly given to better educated employees to give the refreshing in their profession, but can include even such knowledge as how to cooperate in the organization or in the working group. Whether there is any kind of citizenship education in these courses, is hard to say. It should be an area of investigation as well.

2.5 Voluntary Organizations

There are several voluntary organizations in Sweden, some similar to other countries like environmentalists, female organizations and peace movements. But there are also some specific to Sweden, like the Tree Huggers or Women on Duty, Hospital Huggers, or the Weekend Parents Patrol.

Voluntary organizations members are good subjects to study with the reservation that

they are by definition active citizens. This cannot be said about many thousands or millions of Swedes who are members of many different social movements and organisations by being on the list of subscribers only.

3. RESEARCH DESIGN. METHODOLOGY AND THEORY

One can ask the question about what kind of research design, methodology and theoretical background would be useful to adapt to investigate the problem of citizenship both nationally and internationally (comparative).

First, I think we can adapt a holistic approach i.e. to investigate different aspects of citizenship and not only contemporary but also from a historical perspective.

Secondly, the research design should be made on three levels, i.e.

* macro - for example the state role in educating to citizenship

* mezzo - for example - institutional level, such as:
    1. Adult education institutions: goals, curricula, process
    2. Social movements - participation
    3. Other organizations, ad-hoc

* micro - for example - individual level, such as:
    1. What do adults mean by citizenship, what they intend and are ready to do - active citizenship?
    2. One's role in developing of oneself and society
        family level
        neighbourhood level
        leisure
    3. What is the actual participation?

The theoretical background should be adapted in such a way as to match both the macro and micro approaches. That is why one should look for eclectism or for example neo-weberianism (cf Blackledge & Hunt, 1985) to provide our conceptial resources.

References and Literature:

Ambjornsson, R. 1987. **Medborgartanke och lasning. Ide-och bildningshistoriska aspekter pa vara folkroresler.** In: **Folkbildningshistoriska dagar i Uppsala.** 12-13 maj 1986. Slutrapport. Stockholm/Uppsala.

Arvidson, L. 1985. **Folkbildning i rorelse. Pedagogisk syn i folkbildning inom svensk arbetarrorelse och frikyrkororelse under 1900-talet - en jamforelse. (Popular Education in movements)** Malmo: Gleerup.

Arvidson, L. 1987. Popular Education and Educational Ideology (Manuscript).

Blackledge, D. & Hunt, B. 1985: **Sociological Interpretations of Education.** London: Croom Helm.

Blomdahl, U. 1990. **Folkrorelsen och folket.** (Social Movements and People) Stockholm: Carlsson.

Dahllof, U. 1989. The Educational Planning Paradox: Organizational Structures vs Genuine Learning Settings. In: **Adults in the Academy. International Trends in Adult and Higher Education.** Ed by K. Abrahamsson, K. Rubenson, M.Slowey. Stockholm: Swedish National Board of Education.

Englund, T. 1989: **Curriculum as a Political Problem. Changing Educational Conceptions with Special Reference to Citizenship Education.** Uppsala Studies in Education, 25 Uppsal: Acta \Universitatis Upsaliensis.

Folkbildningshistoriska dagar i Uppsala. 12-13 maj 1986. (Popular Education History Meeting in Uppsala) Slutrapport 1987.

Ginner, T. 1988. **Den bildade arbetaren. Debattten om teknik, samhalle och bildning inom Arbetarnas bildungsforbund 1945-1970.** (The Educated Workers). Linkoping: Linkoping Studies in Arts and Science, 17.

Gustavsson, B. 1991. **Bildningens vag. Tre bildningsideal i svensk arbetarrorelse 1880 -1930.** (Educations Way. Three Educational Ideals in Swedish Workers Movements 1880-1930) Stockholm: W & W.

Hadenius, K. 1990. **Jamlikhet och Frihet. Politiska mal for den svenska grundskolan.** (Equality and Liberty. Political purposes of the Swedish Compulsory School). Skrifter utgivna av Statsfetenskapliga foreningen I uppsala, 110. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis.

Hoghielm, R. 1985. **Undervisning i Komvux. Ideal och verklighet i grundskolekurser.** (Education at Municipal Adult Education. Ideals and Reality). Malmo: Liber.

EDUCATION: A RESOURCE IN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS?

John Field
Continuing Education Research Centre
University of Warwick

1. Introduction

All of us are citizens, but we are not all the same kind of citizen. This paper is concerned with the role of education in differentiating between citizens: in differentiating the "active" from the "passive" citizen, and in differentiating between the different kinds of citizen movements which command the loyalties of active citizens. Education will be explored here chiefly as a resource, which may by mobilised through citizen action and developed on behalf of citizen movements.

Resource mobilisation theorists have often identified education as a significant variable in explaining the origins, development and outcomes of social movements. Yet the precise nature of education's contribution is relatively unexplored, and its different possible effects needs disaggregating before they can be evaluated. The paper concludes with some reflections on the value of resource mobilisation theory for the study of contemporary social movements, in the context of our research project. However, while the project is exploring a range of different types of movement, I want to concentrate here on a transient alliance of suburban middle class citizens.

Where else can the active citizen be found, other than in transient protest organisations? There are other organisational sites - trade unions, political parties, national voluntary organisations - but in Britain, as in much of the old capitalist world, their membership (active as well as passive) has fallen almost uninterruptedly since 1945. In the world of what Chris Duke calls "the post-political citizen," activism is seen increasingly, it seems, in the framework of coalitions, transient organisations, and local bodies (all of which have apparently grown in size and total membership); and it seems that it is from the middle class - above all, professionals with tertiary education - that the publicly active post-political citizenry is drawn. The second group of active citizens - those who voluntarily undertake service to support other members of the community - are a related but separate group; important though they are, they are not the subject of this particular paper. Both groups of citizens have learning needs (I would ask though whether they do not have separate and distinctive educational needs?). This focus should, then, allow for the exploration of new and emerging issues of theory and practice for adult continuing education.

The coupling of continuing education with citizenship is, in the British context, more a matter of practice than of theory. This is most obviously the case where the relationship is a close one. Two of the most influential organisational forms of British adult education - the Workers' Educational Association and university extra-mural teaching - developed directly out of the protracted public debate over citizenship that preoccupied the labour movement, the women's movement, and the political elite between the 1840s and 1918. However, the offering of these bodies has increasingly moved away from such concerns, and now conforms largely to a leisure-oriented model of adult education. This process I would argue is part of a wider pattern, also found in other northern European nations, and it is associated characteristically with the secular growth of individualism and the emergence of large-scale consumer markets for human services. What I want to stress

here, though, is the possible significance of the emergent interest in theoretical studies of active citizenship and adult learning, at a time when the practice is in decline. I say this not to encourage simplistic point-scoring, but to register the extent to which the educationist is working in the same context which has inspired recent elite concerns over active citizenship: a context of relatively widespread indifference towards, and even alienation from, the public decision-making process.

2. Resource Mobilisation Theory

Resource mobilisation theory has since the 1960s been widely advanced in the United States as a way of explaining the behaviour of social movements (Jenkins 1983; McCarthy & Zald 1977; Zald & McCarthy 1985). Emerging in the 1970s, largely in response to the emergence of the civil rights campaign and the peace and women's movements, resource mobilisation theory broke with prevailing psychologism of American studies of social movements; where orthodox accounts focused on the symbolism of goals or the supposed irrationalism of the crowd, resource mobilisation theory pointed out that rational grounds for discontent exist in any society; what counts is actors' differential ability to command significant resources as the major variable in explaining their relative success. This approach tried to account for how a movement came together, how it persists, and how far it is able to win support for its agenda; rather than dismissing social movements as structurally primitive, brought together by such factors as common class interests or a charismatic leader, it calls the degree of organisational complexity to the forefront of attention.

Resource mobilisation theory appears to imply at least three levels of analysis. The first concerns the interplay of different kinds of resource within different movements. Education is widely identified as one of the " discretional resources" which can explain the growth of social movements. Others are recruitment networks, the costs and benefits of participation, access to organisations, funding, control over time, and the availability of specialists. There is no consensus in the literature on which type of resource, if any, tends to be most significant in the greatest number of movements; but the author of one comprehensive overview concludes that, although a range of resources are always involved in successful movements, the "central ingredient" seems to be the capacity to gain "entry into the polity by forging alliances with polity members," thus creating "a qualitative increment in the returns to collective action" as well as providing shelter against repression (Jenkins 1983:546).

It is, though, evident that not all social movements have the capacity to gain access to elites. This in turn suggests a further level of analysis, which pays attention to the social distribution of such resources and the ways in which resource allocation is patterned. Different variables come to be distributed in complex and multiple ways, only partially related to dualistic categories such as ethnicity, gender or social class. Taking the example of Italian feminism, Melucci has emphasised the need for accounts which explore

> the availability of specific resources to individuals who engage in calculations about the costs and benefits of involvement. Resources such as prior membership in networks are of course never "neutral." They are always conditioned by the specific social sector to which an individual belongs. For example, while all women are exposed to contradictory pressures and obligations, their participation as women in collective action depends upon such resources as their level of education, their access to employment and their previous membership in leftist political groups (1989: 216).

It is worth adding that education may be as differentially distributed as any other resource - any one of which in turn can itself be affected by past education as well as by current training interventions.

A final level of analysis within resource mobilisation theory lies at the level of the individual. Without entering here into the terrain of psychological differentiation,, it is evident that there are significant differences between propensity towards public involvement of individuals with similar backgrounds and command over resources.

Resource mobilisation theory is, as Melucci points out, very much a product of organisation theory in the analysis of business and administration. It has also, though, been seen as the (conceptual) product of the social movements of intellectuals during the 1960s, whose own activists subjected their own experience to analysis, on the assumptions that they themselves were pursuing rational goals a point made by Jenkins: 528). Its application is therefore likely to be greatest, then, with respect to coherantly structured collectivities which adopt rational-instrumental means to pursue clearly defined and relatively fixed goals. It is less easy to see how an attempt to account for social movements in terms of institutionalised actions can be extended to movements of personal change which adopt expressive-affective means to pursue diffuse and/or interior goals.

Its attraction, though, is as an alternative or addition to the mainstream of study of social movements. Particularly in the study of adult education and social movements in Britain, that mainstream is dominated by categories derived from, Marxist social thought, such as "consciousness," which implies a hierarchy of levels, dominated by an imaginary future ideal against which actual consciousness is measured (and found wanting). It is also dominated by dualist theories - or cartoons - of society, which is seen as divided in a simplistic binary fashion, with social movements "representing" the "interests" of the subordinate group, as against an elite which "represents the interests" of power holders. Resource mobilisation theories tend to focus our attention less on consciousness and interests than on resources and mobilisation - less, in other words, on what social movements fail to do (which boils down to the fact that they invariably show false consciousness or betray their constituency's true interests). It is also premised on the assumption that the societal distribution of resources and power over them is polycentric rather than monocentric; therefore mobilisation consists of a coalition of particularities.

Two qualifications to that. First, my own view is that this perspective is an addition to, not an alternative to, the mainstream: for certain movements, for certain purposes, the world is indeed divided into black and white, sexist and anti-sexist, and so on. Further, I would certainly regard it as entirely appropriate to take socio-economic class into consideration in the analysis of all social movements in capitalist systems: the point is that we might want to look at the resources of class-based systems, rather than an agenda determined by assumptions about their "true interests" or "level of consciousness." Second, I ought to acknowledge that there are of course other competing accounts of social movements, drawn from other theoretical perspectives.

3. Education as Resource

There are two implications of RMT which I want to take up now. The first has to do with how we are going about our research, and analysing the use of educational resources

within social movements. The second is to draw attention again to the language: to talk of a movement as bringing together human and material resources is also, by extension, to open up discussion about the role of human resource development within social movements - the point where research and practice collide (praxis?).

Within this perspective, it is possible to identify a number of differing ways in which education may potentially function as a resource for social movements. The typology used in this paper is based on a threefold differentiation, between (a) different levels or domains of learning on the one hand, (b) different means of learning on the other, and (c) different means of putting learning to use. Social movements are likely to have differential access along all three axes.

The American adult educator Jack Mezirow has tried, and I want to see whether this useful, to construct a typology of adult learning according to three levels, which he describes as "domains" (1981). These he calls the technical, the practical and the emancipatory. These three domains are said by Mezirow to be based upon Habermas' theory of communicative action; the borrowing appears though to be rather more linguistic than conceptual, but the distinctions have the virtue of clarity, and are open to testing.

Mezirow's three domains may be simply summarized. The technical domain refers to "work" (Arbeit in Habermas, perhaps better translated as "labour") - the domain which allows humans to undertake "instrumental action" in order to control and manipulate the environment. The practical domain refers to interaction, or "communicative action," which requires a set of categories for understanding as well as describing and explaining, and involves establishing the conditions for intersubjectivity. The emancipatory domain refers to the knowledge of self, "including interest in the way one's history and biography has expressed itself in the way one sees oneself, one's roles and social expectations" so that "one can recognise the correct reasons for his or her problems (1981: 5).

Superficially Mezirow's scheme resembles the educational knowledge hierarchies of the behaviourists. Mezirow's three domains of learning do not, though, correspond with Bloom's taxonomy of learning objectives. The technical domain for example is not comparable to the behaviourists' " psycho-motor" level: it includes the empirical-analytical sciences, used to gather and categorise information from the environments of labour. It might include specialist knowledge - note, for example, the role of a tiny number of research scientists and policy analysts in mobilising a coalition around environmental issues in the early 1970s. Similarly, the second domain (practical) does not mirror "affective" learning, but is taken to include the historical-hermeneutic disciplines which seem to interpret the meaning of communicative experience: most obviously, specialised legal skills are highly valued in many social movements. Nor does the "emancipatory" domain correspond to "cognitive" learning. Yet if Mezirow's schema does not correspond to Bloom's taxonomy, which in turn mirrors the ancient division between - and hierarchy of - hand, heart and brain, it is implicitly value-laden, with the emancipatory domain functioning as the superior, meta-level: he describes it as "the most distinctively adult domain of learning" (p.6). For those who share Mezirow's values - humanistic and rationalist - this will pose few problems.

Empirically, the first issue I'd want to raise is that Mezirow misses the symbolic. It seems strange for an adult educator to argue that formal educational qualifications are a resource which may be mobilised on behalf of social movements. Yet empirically this can be seen for instance in the use of qualifications in a variety of ways by social movements: they are used to impress (when writing letters to the press, or on the

letterheads of some north American movements); for their access to specialist roles (for example, when an accountant is needed to file financial reports); or in order to draw a contrast with one's (ill-educated) opponents. Finally, the possession of formal qualifications reduces the costs of mobilisation (it is easier to avoid victimisation at work, and at worst find other work), and improve the likelihood of success (formal education, by improving an individual's status, increases their access to decision-making groups). Conceptually, I'd locate Mezirow's inattention to the symbolic within his overall concern to provide a theory of practice which is grounded in a broadly Freirian definition of practice which seems to me to rest on an other-worldly anthropology which sees the pursuit of qualifications as an activity unworthy of the name of learning.

Having got that off my chest, what are our questions? If we can accept for a moment that resource mobilisation theory has a degree of operational validity, what are we trying to dig up?

In exploring Mezirow's framework, we are first of all trying to identify the capacity of social movements themselves to further the education, thus defined, of their members. Here, it is possible to distinguish between (a) incidental learning, which occurs in all social environments, but which may or may not - we simply do not know - be more intense in social movements; (b) planned informal learning, largely self-directed, which may be undertaken in order to further a particular goal or stage of action; (c) formal learning, such as seminars or workshops organised to improve skills or impart knowledge; and (d) the ability successfully to exert pressure on the formal educational system to offer educational resources. The capacity to deliver all of these may itself be a product of education, in the sense of both the transformative and knowledge domains.

Second, we are trying to find out what difference <u>prior</u> education makes. This means investigating the uses to which resources - material and human - are put; and in most cases, they are likely to have multiple uses. Broadly, resource mobilisation analysts tend to distinguish between three or four separate stages in the life cycle of social movements: movement formation, mobilisation, persistence, and outcomes. In addition it is worth noting that educational resources often offer a channel through to such material assets as institutional printing or reprographic facilities, space for meetings and postage. Finally, in my experience educational resources are also a factor <u>within</u> the organised collectivity: one thinks of the role of priests, doctors and community workers in credit unions, for example. The research question is the extent to which the leading cadres within the social movement organisations have greater levels of educational attainment than other members, and if so whether they are trusted by members (differentially or instrumentally) because they are seen as educated people.

Third, we would be interested to explore **learning transference** within social movements. One set of questions here concerns the extent to which knowledge and skills are "portable." Is the learning which goes on from experience of a kind which can be transferred into other settings and relationships? Or is it situationally specific? A further set concerns social movements and educational inequalities. Is it possible to speak of educational disadvantage within a social movement organisation, and if so how does it relate to more conventional definitions of educational disadvantage? Are educational resources shared around the membership as a whole? Are they transferred between members of social movements? In particular, is there an observable reallocation process, so that the educationally disadvantaged acquire new learning from the privileged? Or on the contrary do the educationally privileged simply consolidate their standing by exercising community leadership, while the disadvantaged simply reproduce their own subordination by accepting these leaders' claims to status?

4. A Case Study

With our own work, the focus is on the use and development of educational resources in a number of cases. In the field, we are using broadly ethnographic approaches to explore the ways in which education/learning appears to play a part in the field of citizen action. The case studies include attempts to empower consumers of a local government service; the Women's Institute; Credit Unions; and Amnesty International. The focus in this paper is on the interplay of educational resources in the mobilisation of a newly-formed and very local environmental protest movement in a socially-mixed suburb. The movement (the Rapid Transit Forum) was founded as a rainbow coalition of 14 existing local groups - among them an Allotment Society, a kindergarten, a preservation society, the local Labour Party - in reaction to city council proposals to tun a rapid transit system down the local high street, through a row of houses, across the golf course and through a small wood. I see this group as an interesting example of the social movement, whose goals appear to be at conflict with those of other subordinated groups who appear broadly to welcome the light rail proposals (on grounds of jobs, convenience and victory over a local rival).

To describe this account as a case study may be slightly misleading, and I apologise if so. This is a new body; and our fieldwork is also very fresh. So far I think it is true to say that we have done more to examine the use to which human resources are being put than the ways in which they are being developed. So far as learning transfer is concerned, we are only just becoming aware of the issues. That, though, is one way to describe the role of the case study: it alerts you to questions and problems you might otherwise miss. The case study, then, os mainly used here to explain why we are looking at the areas we have focused attention on.

So far as their application is concerned, educational resources evidently play a role in the Rapid Transit Forum. At the technical level, it is able to call on the services of members with highly specialised reprographic skills, in terms of both design and production: it has produced posters, leaflets and car stickers which are attention-catching and instantly recognisable (though I have heard doubts expressed over the use of red in posters and stickers). Its members include engineers, environmentalists and energy consultants; unsurprisingly then, it is able to uncover information which is embarrassing to the Transport Authority: it has challenged its estimates of costs, its account of the benefits from a similar system in Grenoble, and its judgement of the short and long term disruption to daily life. And in a master stroke, it discovered comments critical of the limits of Light Rail systems in a report published by the National Economic Development Council; among the signatories was the city's Chief Executive, who as a member of Centro was giving full public support to the proposal.

Similarly, the Forum has been able to draw on existing practical skills reflecting a high degree of capability in communicative action. Campaigners readily approach strangers in the street or outside the consultation exercises conducted by the Transport Authority. With apparent effortlessness, the Forum has produced fluent and highly competent speakers with an advanced understanding of public rhetoric. Activists have a strong sense of themselves as speaking on behalf of their neighbours, even those like myself who are agnostic or mildly sympathetic towards the proposals.

> I do think people should take more interest in their community.
> Don't you?

I was asked that in the street, outside the Coop. But what was also going on was a redefining of the collective good, while the Other is also redefined - and in several of my encounters with activists, the Other has been broadened to include the City Council, a

possibly unintended consequence of the Transport Authority's decision to reposition itself and rename its planning function as "Centro." Factual accuracy aside, this value set has won substantial support in parts of the suburb; and has held together a cross-class coalition, in a suburb where settled skilled workers' families and affluent incomers ("yuppies") have reputedly viewed one another with suspicion.

It is, though, at the emancipatory level that the ability to command educational resources has been most striking. Let me stress at the outset that this is a partial process: Forum speakers repeatedly emphasise that what they have done is simply acquire and present "information" or "the true picture," by using "good common sense" or "putting two and two together." What ils being said at the surface level is that simple communal norms of behaviour are being observed; it is the other side which is clever - too clever by half.

Yet it is at this level that the Forum has been able to engage in two crucial areas of action: constructing a consensus that change is not merely possible, but feasible; and undermining the legitimacy of the Transport Authority. To take the second, the Forum has of course challenged the Authority's case; but it has also steadily chipped away at the basis on which the authority is acting. This has involved more than simply discrediting the Authority and its proposals (though that has happened too, as pointed out above); it has extended to subversion of the process by which the proposal has been advanced. Take the phrase of one speaker, a woman, at a public meeting:

> It hasn't been a consultation, it has been notification.

Or, from the chairman of the Rapid Transit Forum, an extension of the case to connect access to information with the basis of a local democracy:

> We think that the council is being devious. I don't think they are being honest about the costs at all. I mean Manchester are already admitting that it's costing far more than they thought. And also one of the problems is this lack of information for public debate...they,re not disclosing information because they think it is unpalatable so therefore people are not being informed. They don't know what they're voting for and I just feel that it will go through with a nod and not all the councillors will know what it cost and certainly the citizens of this area won't.

Challenges to the ground rules have been a theme of the Forum campaign, offering a systematic attack on the notion of technical expertise that, in the early stages, dominated Centro's response to what we are told was an entirely unanticipated and novel experience.

How was it that the Forum was able to draw on such a wide range of relatively highly-skilled individuals? Prior learning evidently has supplied one asset. At the formal level, the Forum has a high number of active members who have tertiary or specialised technical qualifications. In the case of the Secretary, both types of qualifying education have played a part: she learned shorthand and typing on a TOPS course, but her first (and only, until 1990) experience of public organising was as a student some 20 years ago, when she became involved in a creche campaign.

Experiences in other transient protest organisations and movements has created a plentiful supply of skilled activists. It is often suggested by local observers that this particular suburb is full of clubs, societies and associations, and the Forum based its membership structure on them, so that the activists are in fact able to operate effectively and quickly within a new associational form. Certainly the chairman accepts that, if not

> on quite this scale because this is going to get in parliamentary procedures... some of the representatives...have been involved in

campaigns at one time or another.

Active members of both main political parties are involved, for example. Thus it was that a very sizeable public campaign could develop from scratch within the length of a month.

The final area in which we have a research agenda is that of learning transfer. We have as yet discovered relatively little about the processes of learning within the Forum. This is not, though, likely to deny the extent to which learning and development actively occur.

Learning within the Forum has been entirely self-directed. Formal educational bodies have, so far as we can tell, played no part in developing the Forum's human resources. Instead, sources of support are relatively slender, voluntarist and experiential in nature, so that practices found successful in other settings are adapted and used in the Forum. Organisation, for example, is highly formalised because the chairman has drawn on extensive professional experience of getting committees to agree on specific actions and responsibilities: the chairman has established a number of specialist sub-committees to examine such issues as city transport policy, light rail engineering, and the legal position; he has also had to learn to adjust from a professional style:

> I do have an agenda, but unlike other meetings I used to chair, these are all volunteers who want to have their say, so I have to let meetings run a bit.....

Experience elsewhere is also sought: for example, the Forum has contacted a Birmingham group who had already undertaken a similar campaign, and has even set up a fourth sub-committee to "debrief" the Birmingham group and produce a report on their experience. There is, then, strong evidence that there is learning transfer into the Forum of skills and knowledge acquired elsewhere.

Evidence of learning transfer as between individuals with different prior levels of achievement is thin. Certainly learning has happened at the individual level: to quote the Secretary again,

> I've certainly gained a lot from it. I,ve suddenly realised what a lot of things that need to be done and what a lot of campaigns that could be, that I could work in. I've been totally involved in my family, my garden and my particular corner. And now I feel that it is time I stepped out and did a little more in the public field...I've found out a lot of things about myself that I didn't know that I could do before.

It is debateable, since she has a tertiary education, whether the learning transfer has had an equity effect - yet one more example of the interplay between gender and social class!

Evidently, as this sketch shows, past learning has given the Forum access to technical expertise, communicative/practical understanding, and insight into the structures and patterns of decision-making and power which are at work. However, the resources available to any social movement are not static. Learning implies change,, and this is certainly the case with Forum's activists - who already had or were acquiring the confidence to challenge decisions which appeared to command the support of a wide cross-section of the local elite, including the local state. Having embarked on that process, they then moved on to attack the process by which decisions are made; and to question the technical/rational assumptions about social change on which the decision was being justified.

This throws up, I would suggest, one important question concerning Mezirow's emancipatory domain. Mezirow seems to me to confine emancipatory learning to learning which involves major personal change (perspective transformation). In this case, I would

suggest, it makes more sense to see emancipatory learning as also involving perspective reinforcement or affirmation. It would be foolhardy to pretend that any other conclusions about Mezirow's schema are based on any research findings, at least so far.

5. Challenges to Practice: research and provision

If I can briefly summarise what the fieldwork suggests, it is that there are implications for practice at all three levels of investigation. First, and most obvious, it is evident that education matters: that is, it is a variable factor at work in the Forum, and this is seen in the way that the Forum makes use of technical knowledge and know-how, communicative competences, and meta-level understandings including the capacity to issue challenges at the meta-level. Second, both prior education and continuing development - entirely self-directed in this case - supply a resource to the Forum. Third, learning transfer is occurring in two senses: learning is transferred between different members of the Forum, and members are able to transfer their learning to the rest of their lives. These three sets of findings are tentative, of course; and we have not done enough yet to offer comparisons with Credit Unions, Neighbourhood Watch, or the W.I. What do these findings imply for research and provision?

To start at the back, they suggest I think that the Mezirow framework may be a little constrictive. I've already hinted at a couple of my own dissatisfactions, and others may emerge. While we may want to try and work with it a little more, it may be worth considering the virtues of what might be called the "cultural power" approach (Bourdieu 1979).

Beyond that, there are two areas where I would briefly like to identify some challenges to our existing practice. Firstly, there are some methodological issues which may be more widely applicable to the study of active citizens in the context of adult learning. Second, although this is perhaps best left for discussion, I want to indicate one or two implications for the provision of support for adult learning.

How can we best go about studying social movements? What is the appropriate research technology for the analysis of social groupings which may well be transient, are in constant flux, and have a missionary role in the public sphere? We have taken a broadly ethnographic approach; we draw eclectically on two or three major traditions of social research (the anthropology of organisational culture behaviour and symbolic interactionism come immediately to mind as influences, along with straightforward empiricism). What we have not done, slightly to my own surprise, is make much use of participatory research techniques.

This is not simply through fear of engagement. Working on any study of any social movement raises conflicts of loyalty for the researcher, and you get used to finding that the most interesting social movement organisations are those which put up most resistance to outside researchers from elitist academic institutions. Participatory research risks becoming research as though theory doesn't matter; it is also easier to talk about than do. Yet it is still worth raising the question of what participatory approaches would uncover that our more conventional work has not?

I also wonder whether the study of social movements is highly distinctive as a field of research, or whether its dilemmas are those of all the human sciences. Empirically, for example, we are not yet able to report on the role of formal qualifications nor on the

uses to which prior learning achievements are put inside the group. In both cases, English reserve inhibits us from asking directly (and we think it will produce unhelpful answers); and there are ethical difficulties in using covert means as an alternative - not least because the entire research team is either ambivalent about or supportive towards the Light Rail proposals. I'd like to raise these two gaps as indicating important methodological issues.

So far as support for adult learners is concerned, I'd like at this stage to single out one issue, which can be summarised in the tension within adult education between social control and political participation. We can locate this issue in the context of recent attempts to reform the balance between civil society and the state, particularly in the provision of education for adults. One of our case studies is of an attempt by one LEA to hand responsibility for adult education over to local Community Associations. Adult education was involved in the 1970s in attempts to widen public participation in decision-making - for example, in planning proposals. This experience was largely lost sight of during the 1980s, when the tendency was to seek to empower learners as consumers (1). In the 1990s we appear to be witnessing a range of attempts to use markets in a more sophisticated fashion, and either to socialise or sponsor them by developing contractor/sub-contractor trading partnerships, within a monopsonistic framework (i.e. there is only one buyer in the market). One obvious question which the Forum raises is whether there is a way of managing the educational equivalent of a Light Rail system which is applauded by everyone except the group who live halfway down the track. A second is whether the Community Associations will not be subject to the same processes of internal differentiation and construction of positions of influence; and what the relative balance of strength will be between lay and professional in Community Associations, considering that they are not TPOs but standing bodies with a large but chiefly passive membership - an ideal position for professional manipulation under the banner of participatory democracy (Baime 1987: 608-9).

6. Sources

6a. Primary

Much of the material being used in the study of the Earlsdon Transit Forum is being collected by Tessa Lovell, Research Assistant in CERC

6b. Secondary

Balme, Richard 1987. La participation aux associations et le pouvoir municipal. **Revue francaise de sociologie,** xxviii, 601-39.

Bourdieu, Pierre 1979 **La distinction.** Editions de Minuit, Paris.

Jenkins, J. Craig. 1983. Resource Mobilisation Theory and the Study of Social Movements. **Annual Review of Sociology,** ix, 527-53.

Lister, Ruth. 1990. Women, Economic Dependency and Citizenship. **Journal of Social Policy,** xix, 4, 445-467

McCarthy, J.D. & M.N. Zald. 1977. Resource Mobilisation and Social Movements: a partial theory. **American Journal of Sociology,** lxxxvi, 3.

Melucci, Alberto. 1989. **Nomads of the Present: social movements and individual needs in contemporary society.** Radius, London.

Mezirow, J. 1981. A Critical Theory of Adult Learning and Education. **Adult Education,** 32, 1, 3-24.

Zald, M.N. & J.D. McCarthy. 1985. **Social Movements in Organisational Society: resource, mobilisation, conflict and institutionalisation,** Transaction, New Brunswick.

(1) I happen to believe that this is not as irrational as do most of my colleagues; rather it should be seen as one attempt to recreate the basis on which goods and services are distributed within a post-Fordist economy. In other words it represents a rational policy choice, if not necessarily an intrinsically desirable one, in the face of an exponentially expanded mass market for consumer services.

Continuing Education Research Centre
University of Warwick
Coventry
CV4 7AL

© 1991

ISBN 1-869836-65-0

£2.95